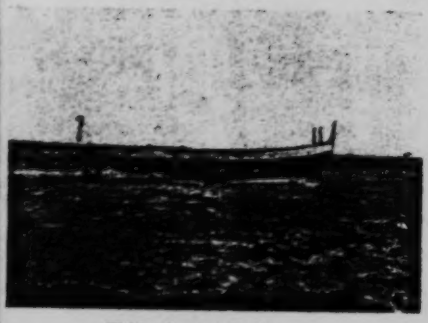
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



NAVIGATION AND FISHING 1

501
226



Fishing boat of the Masuza

Repairing a seine, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Hauling a net ashore, Tiguisas

Fishing scene showing Ghomaran boat type

[facing p. 34]

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 2





Beaching the catch, Tiguisas, Ghomara





[facing p. 36]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Ref MX3

226
291

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

## FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

*Horses* are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif, and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

## NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

## AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [463] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
4do their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

• 226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in [607] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

226 [619] tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

226 389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425 G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628 554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628 648 554 697 692 115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

600 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tribe (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[C13] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un Canon Bereber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind early in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

here. We have never seen or heard of them.

114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4



few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

## Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3



428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

### Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla.*

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 3.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4



more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[a]

## Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

## Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[b] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[a] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[b] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.